

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 DRC-01 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 EUR-25 H-03

INR-10 IO-14 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07

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P R 101645Z JUL 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0280

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALLMBFR MISSIONS 0097

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0152

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AS SOVIET REP KHLESTOV EARLIER HAD INDICATED WOULD BE THE CASE, THE EASTERN DELEGATES TO THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA MARKED TIME THIS WEEK AS THEY AWAITED THE OUTCOME OF THE SUMMIT MEETING IN MOSCOW. DURING THE INFORMAL MEETING ON JULY 2, KHLESTOV AND THE OTHER EASTERN REPS REVIEWED THEIR MODIFIED SYMBOLIC, OR FIRST STEP, AGREEMENT, BUT ADDED NOTHING NEW. IN BILATERAL MEETINGS, POLISH REP STRULAK HINTED THAT THE EAST COULD OFFER CONCESSIONS ON PHASING IF THE WEST AGREED TO BROADEN THE FOCUS OF THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS AND TO BROADEN THE SCOPE OF THE INITIAL WESTERN REDUCTIONS. EAST GERMAN DEPREP ERNST SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO FORWARD MOVEMENT IN VIENNA UNTIL AFTER

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PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE AT CSCE. THE AD HOC GROUP

DISCUSSED AN ANALYTICAL PAPER ON THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AND FORWARDED THE PAPER TO NAC. THE GROUP REACHED A CONSENSUS THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD AGAIN SIGNAL TO THE EAST PRIOR TO THE END OF THIS ROUND THAT THE ALLIES ARE WILLING TO ADJUST THEIR PRESENT DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. THE GROUP ALSO DISCUSSED AND APPROVED TALKING POINTS FOR THE JULY 10 INFORMAL MEETING AT WHICH THE ALLIES WILL INTRODUCE THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. END SUMMARY.

2. THE INFORMAL MEETING. DURING THE INFORMAL SESSION ON JULY 2 THE EASTERN REPS CONTINUED TO CHARACTERIZE THE WESTERN PROPOSALS AS BEING INEQUITABLE AND THEREFORE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST, AND TO PUSH THE PACT'S FIRST STEP PROPOSAL AS A COMPROMISE SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. THE EASTERN REPS AGAIN ACCUSED THE WESTERN REPS OF HAVING RENEGED ON THEIR ALLEGED AGREEMENT TO SEEK A FIRST STEP AGREEMENT. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV, REPEATING THE POINT HE HAD MADE SEVERAL TIMES IN THE MEETING OF JUNE 25, EXPLAINED THAT THE ANSWER TO THE "WHOSE FORCES FIRST" QUESTION COULD BE DIFFERENT DEPENDING ON WHETHER IT WAS ADDRESSED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OVERALL POSITIONS OF EAST AND WEST OR IN THE CONTEXT OF A LIMITED FIRST STEP AGREEMENT. KHLESTOV SAID A FIRST STEP AGREEMENT WOULD COVER A ONE YEAR PERIOD, WOULD INVOLVE REDUCTIONS OF (UNSPECIFIED) FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, AND WOULD CONTAIN A PROVISION THAT ALL ISSUES NOT RESOLVED BY IT WOULD BE SUBJECT TO LATER NEGOTIATIONS.

3. BILATERALS: IN A MEETING WITH NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES AND THE US REP, POLISH REP STRULAK CONTINUED THE EASTERN TACTIC OF HINTING THAT THE PACT STATES MIGHT OFFER CONCESSIONS ON PHASING IF THE WEST WERE TO AGREE TO BROADEN THE FOCUS OF THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS AND TO BROADEN THE SCOPE OF INITIAL WESTERN REDUCTIONS. (THE SAME POINT HAS BEEN MADE

BY SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY AND GDR REP OESER.)
STRULAK STATED IN PARTICULAR THAT AN AGREEMENT MIGHT
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BE POSSIBLE IF THE FRG AND PERHAPS POLAND JOINED THE US AND USSR IN MAKING REDUCTIONS IN A FIRST STEP. STRULAK ALSO SAID THAT THE US AND USSR MIGHT TAKE CUTS GREATER THAN 20,000.

4. IN ANOTHER MEETING, STRULAK TOLD FRG REP BEHRENDTS THAT THE INCLUSION OF ARMAMENTS, NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND OF ALL PARTICIPANTS IN INITIAL REDUCTIONS WAS VITAL,

BUT ADDED THAT THERE COULD BE FLEXIBILITY CONCERNING THE SIZE OF REDUCTIONS, AND THAT THE BULK OF INITIAL REDUCTIONS COULD BE TAKEN BY THE US AND USSR. STRULAK SAID EACH SIDE COULD HAVE "RELATIVE" FREEDOM TO ALLOCATE ITS OWN REDUCTIONS AMONG ITS ALLIES. WHEN PRESSED ON THE MEANING OF "RELATIVE" IN THIS CONTEXT, STRULAK SAID THAT THE TWO SIDES WOULD HAVE TO AGREE ON HOW THE ALLOCATIONS WOULD BE MADE, BUT THAT THIS COULD BE A MATTER OF "COMMUNICATIONS" RATHER THAN NEGOTIATION. IN A MEETING WITH CANADIAN REP GRANDE, STRULAK OBSERVED THAT THE PRESENT FORMAT FOR THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS IS NOT THE BEST ONE FOR ADVANCING REAL CONCESSIONS OR FOR REACHING AN INITIAL AGREEMENT. STRULAK, ACCORDING TO GRANDE, SEEMED TO BE IMPLYING THAT HE DESIRED A FORUM EVEN MORE RESTRICTED THAN THE CURRENT INFORMAL MEETINGS.

5. EAST GERMAN DEPREP ERNST TOLD FRG DEPREP HOFMANN THAT RECENT NEWS ON CSCE WAS "FRUSTRATING AND EVEN DEPRESSING", AND INDICATED THAT THERE COULD BE NO FORWARD MOVEMENT IN VIENNA UNTIL AFTER PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON CSCE. ERNST CONCLUDED THAT NOTHING SIGNIFICANT WOULD HAPPEN IN THE REMAINDER OF THE CURRENT MBFR NEGOTIATING ROUND.

6. ON JULY 3 THE US DEPREP DISCUSSED WITH SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY THE APPARENT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN POSITIONS ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. THE US DEPREP POINTED OUT THAT THE EASTERN EUROPEANS APPEARED TO BE MORE INSISTENT THAN THE SOVIETS THAT ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, PARTICULARLY THE FRG, MUST REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET. SMIRNOVSKY

DID NOT REPLY DIRECTLY. HE SAID ONLY THAT HE SUPPOSED THE
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PARTICIPANTS IN THE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WOULD HAVE TO CONTINUE WORKING ON THE "WHOSE FORCES FIRST" ISSUE, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO GET A SOLUTION TO THE QUESTION IN THIS FORUM. THE IMPLICATION WAS THAT THE SOVIETS LEFT TO THEIR OWN WERE WILLING TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE ON THIS ISSUE THAN THEIR ALLIES.

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 DRC-01 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 EUR-25 H-03

INR-10 IO-14 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0281

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0098

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0152

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. THE PLENARY. THE PLENARY MEETING, HELD ON JULY 4 AND CHAIRED BY LUXEMBOURG REP, WAS ADDRESSED BY BULGARIAN REP DICHEV AND BELGIAN REP ADRIAENSSEN. DICHEV'S STATEMENT CONTAINED THE STANDARD EASTERN CRITICISMS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS AND ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE EASTERN POSITION. REFERRING TO THE COMMUNIQUE SIGNED AFTER THE MEETING IN APRIL OF THE WARSAW PACT'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, DICHEV CLAIMED THAT SUCCESS IN THE MBFR TALKS COULD CREATE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR SIMILAR NEGOTIATIONS WITH REGARD TO OTHER REGIONS OF EUROPE--I.E, THE BALKANS. BELGIAN REP ADRIAENSSEN'S STATEMENT FOR THE ALLIES FOCUSED ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES.

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8. AD HOC GROUP ACTIVITIES. AFTER SESSIONS ON 1 AND 3 JULY, THE AHG AGREED ON A PAPER FOR THE NAC ON "DEFINITION

OF GROUND FORCES" AND ON A COVERING NOTE TO ACCOMPANY IT. THE NETHERLANDS, ITALIAN, AND UK REPS EXPRESSED INITIAL RESERVATIONS ABOUT SIGNALING THE EAST PRIOR TO THE SUMMER RECESS, BUT THE AHG EVENTUALLY REACHED A CONSENSUS THAT THE ALLIES, BEFORE THE END OF THE CURRENT ROUND, SHOULD EXPRESS THEIR WILLINGNESS TO THE EAST TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE ADJUSTMENTS TO THE DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE ON JULY 1, NETHERLANDS REP QUEARLES RETURNED TO THE THEME THAT THE ALLIES MUST FOCUS THE DISCUSSION OF THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS--THE COMMON CEILING. HE STATED THAT THE WEST COULD GET THIS ONLY BY INTRODUCING THEIR FULL NEGOTIATING PROGRAM, AND SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES DO SO EARLY IN THE FALL SESSION.

9. ON JULY 5 THE AHG DISCUSSED THE NAC GUIDANCE ON THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP, PARTICULARLY QUARLES AND UK REP ROSE, EXPRESSED REGRET ABOUT THE VAGUENESS OF THE FORMULATION OF THE GUIDANCE, BUT THE AHG AGREED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO FOLLOW THE NAC WORDING FAIRLY CLOSELY. THE GROUP DISCUSSED AND APPROVED TALKING POINTS FOR THE INFORMAL MEETING ON JULY 10, AT WHICH THE ALLIES WILL INTRODUCE THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA.

10. COMMENT: THE EASTERN REPS HAVE GIVEN SEVERAL HINTS--THE LATEST, GDR DEPREP ERNST'S COMMENTS--THAT THEY BELIEVE THAT NOTHING MUCH WILL DEVELOP IN VIENNA IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS TO THE END OF THIS SESSION, AND THAT THEY ARE READY TO PACK THEIR BAGS. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS AN OPEN QUESTION WHETHER THE WEST'S "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA WILL ELICIT A POSITIVE EASTERN RESPONSE AT THIS TIME. RESOR

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